

jority of the jet service for the Washington regional area is furnished at National because of its convenient site location. This results in National being used at virtually maximum allowable levels, whereas Dulles has continued to be substantially underutilized.

The following table compares the actual air carrier operations and related passenger traffic at National and Dulles for each calendar year since 1964.

Calendar year ¹	Air carrier operations		Passenger traffic	
	National	Dulles	National	Dulles
1964	210.7	28.2	5,993.9	782.3
1965	220.1	32.6	6,726.4	946.6
1966	216.6	37.1	7,665.9	1,105.3
1967	238.5	51.0	9,126.6	1,476.4
1968	235.0	58.9	9,672.6	1,661.4
1969	221.8	63.4	9,905.1	2,010.9
1970	212.3	62.1	9,400.1	1,181.0

¹ Figures compiled by GAO, August 1971.

This table readily indicates the lack of growth at Dulles that was projected in the planning stage.

I bring out these facts and figures to show that at the expense of the taxpayer there has been a great tendency to overestimate the growth of the use of Dulles Airport. I realize that since 1969 there has been a slight decline in air travel and Dulles has likewise had a decline in passenger figures.

At the same time, the General Accounting Office found last month that the Federal Aviation Administration has made no real effort to increase the use of Dulles International, while planning to spend millions more to expand present facilities on the basis of purported needs in the future.

Is this the same bureaucratic Government agency—FAA—that is now participating in a dual role with the Louisville and Jefferson County Air Board Airport design miles from Louisville?

I point out that though I have been accused of being a conservative for my years in Congress, this is a matter that very much deserves a conservative viewpoint in not dashing off into large annual deficits at the expense of the American taxpayer or at the expense of our local and State taxpayer.

As the Baltimore Sun reported in late 1961:

When a government project exceeds its original estimated cost in excess of 300 per cent, any taxpayer has the right to bawl.

The projected cost was originally \$40 million, but this eventually rose to more than \$180 million to the American taxpayer. I have never heard of any defense overrun running into that kind of extravagant excess.

While all of this may not have been FAA's fault, it was a pretty sorry record and one which makes me wonder whether the Congress would have so blithely embarked on the project had it realized the final cost.

Federal statisticians who forecast the traffic at Dulles International now admit that they overshot their calculations. Will the same gross miscalculation now take place at Louisville? Will this too, be another white elephant? They were not even

lukewarm in their predictions at Dulles.

As reported in the Washington Post in November of this year, figures by the Government Accounting Office showed that passenger traffic at Dulles for the first quarter of 1971 had dropped 13 percent from the same period in 1970. Since the opening of Dulles, it has now operated at a total deficit of more than \$70 million.

Dulles International today is still only handling about 20 percent of the region's air traffic. The remoteness of Dulles to Washington, D.C., is almost identical to the remoteness of the proposed Oldham-Shelby-Henry Counties location to Louisville.

While we are doing some calculation of facts and figures let us consider the obvious which does not appear to have occurred to the Louisville Jefferson County Air Board officials or to the FAA officials.

This is the matter of the significant difference in the population and jetport needs of the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., and the metropolitan area of Louisville, Ky., and Louisville's proposed land acquisition as compared to the land size of Dulles.

1970 Census

Population:
 Louisville metropolitan area.... 826,553
 Washington metropolitan area... 2,861,123
 Jetport acreage:
 Louisville metropolitan area.... 35,000
 Washington metropolitan area... 10,000

It is obvious that with the population differentials between Washington and Louisville and the comparable acreage difference that there is some very unrealistic planning of this jetport. The greater metropolitan area of Washington has a population of 2,861,123 and the greater metropolitan area of Louisville is only 826,553—less than a third of that of Washington. Yet, Louisville planners are seeking 35,000 acres compared to the 10,000 total acres of Dulles International or 3½ times as much land for one-third the population.

More important, let us consider the character of these two metropolitan communities. Washington as the seat of our National Government has a regular flow of State, municipal, business, and private persons coming into the Federal City to conduct business with the Government.

There is a huge influx of visitors from across the country who come to visit their Nation's Capital adding to the transitory population that bring a heavy burden on air traffic. Washington is fast becoming the hub of international transportation just as New York is today. There are thousands of groups traveling from abroad that merge on our Capital City. The foreign embassies stationed in Washington regularly have visitors coming to the city. Our own State Department helps to multiply the mass of visitors coming to Washington. All of this bringing about voluminous amounts of airline activity.

If 10,000 acres is the "airport of the future" for the Nation's Capital, should not it be enough for Louisville? This 35,000 tract of land for jetport use is unrealistic and will be an even greater burden on our taxpayers than that of the Dulles International.

I believe we owe a much better accountability to our citizens and without much better evidence than has been presented, I oppose our constructing a "35,000-acre white elephant" at the expense of the taxpayer.

Additionally, the jetport studies that I have seen take no cognizance of aerospace innovations of the future. Short takeoff and landing procedures—known as STOL—vertical takeoff engines—already in use by the military are innovations that must be considered when officials consider long term land needs for airport construction. Ten or 15 years from now our jets may well be landing on runways in size, now only capable of accepting small general aviation aircraft. There is substantial evidence to support such a theory.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE RESPONDS

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, ordinarily I would not comment on the statements of a Member of this House, but I believe that members of the public who have been attacked on the floor of the House by a Member should have the opportunity to respond. It is for this reason that I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, many members of which reside in my congressional district. The statement responds to charges made by our colleague from Louisiana (Mr. Rarick) against this organization and other Jewish groups. I personally have a high regard for the Anti-Defamation League and its membership, as well as the other Jewish organizations attacked.

The statement follows:

RARICK: EXTREMIST VOICE IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS

For America's extreme ideological and political Right, for the diehard advocates of racial inequality and segregation, and now even for the dark demi-world of professional anti-Semitism, there is a shrill and persistent voice in the Congress of the United States.

The voice belongs to the representative from the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana, 47-year-old John R. Rarick, an Indiana-born former Louisiana state district court judge who was first elected to Congress in 1966. It brings to the House, and to various extremist gatherings, the unreason and the inflammatory vocabulary of blatant white racism and of a stark brand of anti-Semitism unheard in Congress for many years.

Surprisingly, Rarick's demagoguery has received little attention outside of the periodicals of the Far Right and the hate fringe, those whose issues and concerns Rarick has made his own. But as a member of Congress he has provided the extremist causes a new seat of seeming respectability if not a wider and more attentive audience.

The name of John Rarick has been lent to promotional and fund-raising activities of Radical Right and racist pressure groups, and his presence on the platform has been a highlight of many a Rightist rally.

On Labor Day, 1965, before his election to Congress and while he was still serving as a state district judge in Louisiana, Rarick addressed a rally in Bogalusa, La., sponsored by the Anti-Communist Christian Association, a camouflaged Klan group. Leaders, and many members of the organization were at the time defendants in a court action brought by the U.S. Department of Justice to enjoin them from continuing violence and intimidation against black people and white civil rights workers in the area.

Since reaching Capitol Hill, the Louisiana congressman has been using the House of Representatives as a forum and a sounding board to inject into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD long diatribes from the busy extremist presses. These insertions by now total hundreds of pages and have cost American taxpayers tens of thousands of dollars.

ANTI-SEMITISM

It is to this historical record of the Congress that John Rarick has committed a number of baldly anti-Jewish articles and speeches by the conspiracy theorists of extremism, both past and present. Examples:

On April 19, 1971, a speech delivered by Col. Arch Roberts, head of the Committee to Restore the Constitution, a lengthy harangue in which Roberts, quoting from anti-Semitic pamphleteers such as Eustace Mullins, attempted to show that "internationalist money lenders" (a number of Jewish names supplied) had formed an "Invisible Government of Monetary Power" to secure world domination.

In January, 1970, an article by well-known anti-Semite Richard Cotten (a favorite source of Rarick's), again on the alleged wiles of these "conspiratorial" bankers, in which Cotten at several points used the Hebrew word "shekels" when referring to gold and then spoke of "usuers" and "satanic swindlers" who are, he said, plotting to "destroy Christianity."

On April 23, 1970, a blatantly anti-Semitic speech originally made in 1934 by the late Rep. Louis T. McFadden. Quoting articles published in the 1920's about the notorious anti-Jewish forgery, the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, McFadden had contended that predictions contained in the spurious *Protocols* had come to pass, that "the Jews have the gold" in the United States and that New Deal monetary reforms had been "specifically designed and written by the Jewish international money changers." Rarick quoted McFadden further: "Do you not see the *Protocols of Zion* manifested in the appointment of Henry Morgenthau as Secretary of the Treasury?"

In the fall of 1970, a series of lengthy articles by John Birch Society writer Gary Allen that were then appearing in the Society's magazine, *American Opinion*, and that attributed to "international bankers" the control not only of America's currency but of the nation's newspapers and broadcast media, with lists of predominantly Jewish names allegedly establishing the connection.

On June 4, 1971, a speech by Curtis B. Dall, chairman of Washington's extreme Rightist pressure group, Liberty Lobby, in which Dall charged that these same diabolical bankers and some "well-financed atheists" were threatening Christianity.

On February 23, 1971, an anti-Semitic source of utter fantasy—a discredited canard entitled "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" which was, said Rarick, "a scheme to bring about self-guilt within the white race and to promote amalgamation of the races." Rarick identified the document as having been written in 1912 by "a member of a different minority group, Communist Israel Cohen." The racial scheme would, in the words of Israel Cohen, "deliver America to our cause."

The truth: There never was such an "Israel Cohen" and there never was such a

Communist document. "Cohen" had made his first identifiable appearance in a paid advertisement in the December, 1956 issue of *The Virginian*, an anti-Semitic monthly then published in Newport News. "Cohen" and his so-called "Racial Program" had achieved wider currency after being inserted in the *Congressional Record* by a Mississippi congressman in 1957 and the hoax has been quoted since then in the anti-Jewish propaganda tracts of such professional bigots as Gerald Smith, Kenneth Goff, and Myron Fagan. (It had been thoroughly exposed by the Anti-Defamation League and by the Washington *Evening Star* a full 13 years before Rarick again sought to clothe it in respectability, but like so many anti-Jewish forgeries it has lingered as a useful weapon in the arsenals of bigotry.)

On February 24, 1969, an anti-civil rights statement signed by the Citizens Congressional Committee of Los Angeles, a front group for Gerald Smith's Christian Nation Crusade.

On March 2, 1971, an article from Ron Gostick's virulently anti-Jewish *Canadian Intelligence Digest* written by Eric Butler, Australia's best-known anti-Semite for more than a quarter of a century. Butler, the author of a scurrilous commentary on the *Protocols* entitled *The International Jew*, was described by Rarick in the *Congressional Record* as "an eminent Australian."

On October 27, 1969, a speech by P. A. del Valle, a retired Marine Corps general who has been a prominent personality in the world of professional anti-Semitism. In the speech revived by Rarick, del Valle charged that "the pride of the Jews" caused them to reject God. He implied that Jews are the "authors" of revolution, asserted that the "sons of Jacob" are plotting the destruction of Christianity, and assailed what he called "the One World Government dreamed up in the *Protocols of Zion* . . ."

Does John Rarick recognize this as anti-Semitic? On more than one recent occasion, he quoted someone's definition of anti-Semitism—"a smear term used by Communists against those who effectively oppose and expose them." Rarick himself has made statements that were indicative of his own attitudes about Jews—attitudes not very different from those expressed by the Cottens and the del Valles with whom he sometimes has linked his name.

Shortly before Christmas in 1969, Rarick commented about a protest mounted by the American Civil Liberties Union and others against a sectarian Christmas display under apparent government sponsorship. Rarick said the protest "follows the pattern of the minority, who are not content to live in freedom outside of the way of life of the rest of the Nation, but who feel compelled to bring their neighbors down to their own level in all questions where they find embarrassing difficulties to exist." The congressman added that he was "noting the names of the counsel representing the leftist ACLU . . ." They were three Jewish-sounding names.

On January 2, 1971, Rarick went out of his way to attack the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish community after a number of civil rights groups in Virginia had criticized the use of right-wing films in a training course for the Virginia State Police. Although ADL was mentioned in a newspaper article about the protest, which Rarick placed in the *Congressional Record*, the complaint itself had been brought by spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Richmond Urban League, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Virginia Council on Human Relations, a private group. Rarick, nevertheless, declared that "it behooves Jewish leaders to get their activists back into the mainstream of the American society."

Rarick himself is a swimmer in the brack-

ish backwaters of that society's politics. He has, for example, maintained a close and telling relationship with the personages and policies of Liberty Lobby, perhaps the most extreme of America's larger Far Rightist organizations. The founder and guiding hand of Liberty Lobby is Willis Carto, an elusive figure who has been a leading promoter in the underworld of professional anti-Semitism for over a decade. Carto, who has expressed admiration for Adolf Hitler, has been a prime mover behind several blatantly anti-Jewish publications (*American Mercury*, *Western Destiny*, *Washington Observer Newsletter*). He has also sought to revive and to promote the neo-Hitlerian writings of the late Francis Parker Yockey, a shadowy anti-Semite and neo-fascist of the 1940s and 1950s. In 1960, Yockey committed suicide in a San Francisco prison cell, a few days after he had been arrested by the FBI and charged with passport fraud following a series of mysterious trips to various parts of Europe.

Rarick's endorsement of Carto's Liberty Lobby has appeared on the Lobby's promotional materials. Shortly before Rarick was first elected to Congress, editor Ned Touchstone of the anti-Semitic publication, *The Councilor*, with which Rarick has been associated, boasted that candidate Rarick "is on a first name basis" with Carto.

RARICK, THE JEWS AND ISRAEL

The olden anti-Semitic canards that John Rarick has sent re-echoing through the halls of Congress and in its official *Record*, find a practical application to policy matters on the question of the Middle East, where the Louisiana congressman sees most of the problems created by "Israeli aggression." The aroma of anti-Semitism was apparent when on December 10, 1970, Rarick declared that U.S. policy with respect to Israel is that of America's creditors, "the wealthy international bankers."

On that same day, Rarick inserted in the *Congressional Record* a long anti-Israel harangue delivered a week earlier by Alfred Lilienthal, for many years a leading pro-Arab propagandist. Lilienthal's speech was made at a New York dinner sponsored by the National Economic Council. The NEC affair had been held to honor the organization's founder, the late Merwin K. Hart, a leading personality in the world of anti-Semitism for three decades, until his death in 1962. The dinner's guest list had featured a galaxy of Radical Right leaders and activists such as Founder Robert Welch of The John Birch Society, Arab diplomats and pro-Arab propagandists, and a number of well-known anti-Semites, including Richard Cotten and (on the dais) P. A. del Valle. One of the chief speakers of the evening has been Rep. John Rarick.

Rarick views any U.S. commitment to Israel or any aid for that beleaguered state as dangerous. He has declared: "The apparent policy of our country with regard to Israel is a guaranteed survival, regardless of cost of participation by our Nation."

On another occasion, Rarick charged that the United States was making available to Israel "the weapons with which to continue their transgressions against" the authority of the United Nations—a bizarre argument for a congressman who at other times has parroted the anti-U.N. line of Radical Right extremists and the lunatic hate fringe by describing the United Nations as illegal, un-American, Communist, atheist and anti-white. Rarick, it seems, becomes a champion of the U.N. only when it suits his anti-Israel prejudices.

Those prejudices surfaced as recently as September 24, 1971, following passage by the U.S. Senate of the draft extension law. In the *Congressional Record* of that date, Rarick cast aspersions on the integrity of a number of Senators who had voted for the law, charging that they had bowed to "the financial and political powers in this country"—

presumably "the wealthy international bankers." Rarick charged that the Senators had approved the draft extension "to prepare U.S. men for impending hostilities in the Middle East."

Rarick has also attacked respected Jewish organizations because of their support for Israel; the targets have included B'nai B'rith, the United Jewish Appeal and Bonds for Israel. His attacks on UJA have included the placement in the *Congressional Record* of the full text of an anti-UJA blast published by Carto's Liberty Lobby.

Despite his zealous opposition to Israel and to American aid for the Israelis, Rarick has sometimes been less than candid on the subject when approached by Jewish constituents. Persons with Jewish names who wrote him in the summer of 1970 out of concern for the situation in the Middle East, and for Israel's dangerous position there, received a reply which stated in part: "You will be interested to hear that a number of senators have already signed a letter urging the President to authorize the sale of jet aircraft to Israel . . ." The letter contained no indication whatsoever of Rarick's own unyielding opposition to such aid for an Israel confronted by Arab states and the Soviet Communist imperialism that Rarick claims to abhor.

In any case, Rarick is perhaps the most vociferous opponent of Israel on Capitol Hill.

LABOR DAY, 1965

Early in September 1965, John Rarick, then a state district judge in Louisiana, addressed a parade rally held on Labor Day in Bogalusa, La., and sponsored by the Anti-Communist Christian Association, a cover name used by a Klan unit in the Bogalusa area which had been a center of racial tension and of repeated acts of Klan violence and intimidation. The Klan unit had been part of the so-called "Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" and their activities around Bogalusa had been so extreme that the U.S. Justice Department had filed a Federal court action under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, aimed at enjoining the Klan group from further assaults and intimidation against black people and white civil rights workers. The Klan unit, its leaders, various members, and other individuals were scheduled to appear in a New Orleans court room the day after Labor Day.

Sharing the platform with Rarick at the Klan-front rally was Richard Cotten, the anti-Semitic broadcaster who, according to the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* of September 7, 1965, stated that one of the purposes of his trip from California to Louisiana was to persuade Judge Rarick to run for Congress.

The main speaker at the rally was to have been Robert DePugh, leader of the gun-toting, extreme Rightist organization known as The Minutemen. DePugh, however, was unable to appear and the Labor Day gathering of 3,000 was told by Cotten that DePugh had a court appearance elsewhere the next day and therefore could not make the trip.

When the Klan court case opened in New Orleans the next day, witnesses included Charles Christmas, who had served as Grand Dragon of the Klan unit, and his second-in-command, Saxon Farmer, who had served as Grand Titan.

Both testified that the Klan no longer existed in the Bogalusa area and that because of its "bad reputation," it had been decided to try to "improve" the organizational "image" by dropping the Klan label and replacing it with the Anti-Communist Christian Association name tag.

Christmas testified that most of the officers of the Klan unit had kept the same positions in the Association. (A Congressional committee, which conducted a two-year investigation of the Klans, said in a 1967 report that articles of incorporation for the Association had been notarized in December, 1964,

and had subsequently been filed with the Secretary of State of Louisiana. The incorporation papers, published in the report, showed that Saxon Farmer was a registered agent, a director and an incorporator of the Association.)

Christmas also told the court that the Klan had had a "wrecking crew"—a group of so-called "peace keepers"—but that the leaders had come to feel that its work was unnecessary and could be adequately handled by regular law enforcement authorities.

As soon as Christmas and Farmer had testified, the Federal Government—with the permission of the three-judge court—added the Anti-Communist Christian Association as a defendant in the case. The Government charged that the Association was a "front and dummy" for the Klan.

On the second day of the proceedings, the defendants admitted most of the Government's allegations of violence in a stipulation aimed, according to *The New York Times*, at avoiding some of the embarrassment of open testimony concerning assaults, harassment and intimidation. In admitting certain of the charges, the defendants conceded that they had assaulted pickets and demonstrators, threatened Negroes with death, brandished guns and clubs, and that they had threatened civil disorder to discourage demonstrations and speeches by pro-civil rights groups. (They did not, however, agree that each person accused in a specific instance had actually participated.)

On December 1, 1965, the court, headed by Judge John Minor Wisdom, issued a strongly worded injunction, ordering the Klansmen and other defendants to halt their "acts of terror and intimidation." The decision, written by Judge Wisdom, denounced the Klan as a "fearful conspiracy against society" and described the defendants as "ignorant bullies . . ."

It was at a 1965 Labor Day parade rally, sponsored by such types, that John Rarick had appeared, while a state district judge, the year before his election to Congress.

ON MATTERS OF RACE

When elected to Congress, Rarick had served as a member of the State Board of the Louisiana (White) Citizens Councils, whose leader was Leander Perez, now dead, a leading political figure in Louisiana, a racist, and an anti-Semite. Perez had been excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church in 1962 for his views on race and his opposition to desegregation of Catholic schools in Louisiana. Rarick had also served as an "advisor" to *The Councillor*, the shrilly racist and anti-Semitic paper then published by the Louisiana White Citizens Councils under the editorship of extremist Ned Touchstone.

The Councillor has for some time helped to promote Rarick. In 1967, for example, while he was serving his first term in Congress, the extremist periodical had urged Rarick to run for Governor of Louisiana and had dubbed him the "White Hope."

In May 1971, *The Councillor* sent out a mailing that included a number of speeches by Rarick, reprinted from the *Congressional Record*. The mailing was a promotional effort by Touchstone on behalf of Councillor Research, Inc., which has replaced the Citizens Councils of Louisiana as publisher of Touchstone's hate sheet.

If John Rarick arrived in Congress five years ago as Touchstone's fancied "white hope," he has remained steadfast as a leading spokesman on Capitol Hill for racial segregation—especially segregation in the schools, where Rarick sees integration required by the law of the land as "tyranny" and segregation required by local law as "freedom."

When Rarick placed the "Israel Cohen" propaganda forgery in the *Congressional Record*, his remarks were captioned: "Race Destroyers Are the True Racists." This best describes the crux of his thinking on race

problems. In his view, advocates of integration or civil rights are the "racists" and the "destroyers" rather than those who advocate separation and white supremacy.

On January 22, 1971, Rarick introduced two bills to translate diehard extremist "white hope" into action. He proposed legislation that would (1) "amend" the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to permit complete racial segregation in education and (2) make Federal marshals available to maintain segregated schools by force. He has also introduced bills to repeal the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the "open housing" law enacted in 1968.

Rarick has meanwhile accused the Nixon Administration of "continued programs to pacify the fanatical race mixers." He has termed Administration proposals to end housing bias part of a "continuing assault against the greatest culture and the greatest Nation ever bequeathed by God to man." (This culture, said Rarick, has been preserved by the "white population from its suburban homes.")

Rarick's massive injections of extremist propaganda into the *Congressional Record* have included some of the outpourings of the cultists of "scientific" racism—in particular the lengthy didactic letters periodically sent to Presidents, members of the Cabinet and other officials by Carleton Putnam, a tireless preacher of Negro racial inferiority.

Rarick himself has referred to a much-publicized marriage of a few years ago as that of a "high-ranking Cabinet officer's daughter and a member of the Negroid race . . ." A black New Orleans attorney, Lolis Elie, has testified under oath that Rarick, when a judge, had once said to him in court: "I didn't know they let coons practice law." Elie added that Rarick had brushed aside objections to the use of the word "nigger" on the grounds that its use was an exercise of "freedom of speech."

Rarick had labeled the Army's program for improving race relations "brainwashing," and at the same time has befriended an Army officer who was disciplined for refusing to shake hands with a fellow officer who was black.

Rarick termed it "a disgrace" when the flag was flown at half-staff for the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., whom he described as an "errand boy" for "international Communism." He has called black Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall "a scamp" and "a cheat."

When Secretary of State William P. Rogers returned from a visit to Africa in 1970, he was sharply criticized by Rarick for "rapport" he had shown with black African leaders. In the same critical breath, Rarick quoted, with obvious admiration, the Prime Minister of the *apartheid* state of South Africa.

This reflects still another facet of Rarick's presence in Washington. The Louisiana congressman has been a virtual lobbyist on Capitol Hill for the white supremacy government of Rhodesia. Rarick went to Rhodesia in 1968 as a guest of the American-Southern African Council, a group which has had operational ties with Carto's Far Rightist Liberty Lobby. Rarick has since peppered the *Congressional Record* with articles from Rhodesian government and white supremacy publications, speeches by Prime Minister Ian Smith, and assorted "reports" lauding the Rhodesian government and denigrating efforts at self-government by black African states. One such document, filling 25 columns in the *Record*, was the work of anti-Semite Richard Cotten.

Rarick has also sent personal pleas to President Nixon and Secretary Rogers urging American recognition of Ian Smith's government. He sees political skullduggery in America's unfriendly posture:

"It has been suggested by some critics," he has said, expressing innuendo as though it were not his own, ". . . that the Rhode-

sians would fare better if there were more Rhodesians voting in New York. I offer no opinion on this idea."

RARICK AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

While he has made himself the Radical Right's Capitol Hill spokesman, John Rarick has also actively collaborated in the workings of some of the more extreme organizations in the movement, some of them tainted with bigotry.

The congressman's relationship with Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby has been mentioned. In addition to lending his signature to the Lobby's promotional and fund-raising materials, Rarick was also the chief speaker at the 1970 Liberty Lobby national convention in Los Angeles. Not surprisingly, Rarick's voting record was tabulated as 100% perfect in a Liberty Lobby rating chart of congressmen and senators.

In October, 1970, Rarick addressed the Washington "March for Victory," headed by Right-wing preacher Carl McIntyre.

A month earlier the Louisiana congressman had been the lead-off speaker at the annual conference of the White Citizens Councils in Atlanta. On September 21, he inserted in the *Congressional Record* the speech that had been delivered at the segregationist convention by Tom Anderson, a columnist who is also a member of the National Council of The John Birch Society.

In 1968 and 1970, when Rarick sought reelection to Congress, Anderson's name headed the "National Committee" of "American Friends of John Rarick" whose letterhead proclaimed that it was "Dedicated to the Re-election of this Great American and Courageous Congressman." The National Committee of the organization has included anti-Semites Cotton, del Valle and Curtis Dall, and a number of other individuals who have been active on America's political Far Right for many years.

On the Fourth of July weekend in 1971, Rarick addressed the "New England Rally for God, Family and Country," a massive Far Rightist carnival held annually in Boston under the tutelage of John Birch Society officials and supporters.

As mentioned earlier, Rarick was also a featured speaker at a December, 1970 dinner of the National Economic Council, an extreme Rightist organization founded by the late Merwin K. Hart. In addition, Rarick has addressed several conventions of the Far Rightist coalition known as the Congress of Freedom, sharing the platform on at least one such occasion with anti-Semites Richard Cotten and Ned Touchstone, and with former Admiral John Crommelin, a racist, an anti-Semite and in bygone years a frequent candidate for public office in Alabama. Also on the platform was Opal Tanner White, a long-time co-worker of hate-monger Gerald Smith.

Rep. Rarick has himself served as chairman of at least one Far Right organization—the Supreme Court Amendment League (SCALE), which made its debut at the Birchite New England Rally on July 4, 1968, and which boasted an advisory board that included many names well-known as active Right-wing extremists and that also included some well-known peddlers of bigotry.

As a Congressional echo of the Radical Right movement, Rarick has been the drummer for an endless variety of far-out causes. A few examples: his opposition (the extreme Rightist position is usually a negative one) to the United Nations; to civil rights law; to the distribution of UNICEF Christmas cards; to gun registration, the Peace Corps, and the television program "Sesame Street"; to disarmament negotiations, sex education, and the vote for 18-year-olds. On the subject of the Vietnam War, Rarick asked an April, 1971 meeting of the Far Right Liberty Amendment Committee in San Diego, Calif.:

"Why the hell doesn't somebody in Washington have the guts to push the button?"

Rarick has accused the Nixon Administration of appeasing the "Hanoi Fifth Column." He has called the My Lai atrocity "the massacre hoax" and "the Plinkville massacre production."

An article by Rarick that appeared in the September, 1970, issue of the anti-Semitic *American Mercury* bore the title, "Americans Do Not Support the Genocide Treaty"—and yet Rarick has invoked that same treaty in opposing school busing to achieve integration which, he argues, is "genocide."

Recent Rarick statements have brought disturbing echoes of the McCarthy era to the House Chamber. He has said that "in the State Department there is only room for those who are soft on Communism, pinks, punks, and fellow travelers," and he has hinted that the Department is heavily loaded with homosexuals. In the fall of 1970, he declared:

"The American people realize that their major menace is not the big Red army from without, but the big pink army within. With Marxism taking the world, the people are wondering why there is no mention of an obvious Communist menace within the higher echelon of our Government."

Rarick followed this statement by inserting in the *Congressional Record* an article by a leading "subversion" hunter of the Radical Right, Frank Capell, who charged that Secretary of State William P. Rogers "continues to protect the Communists."

Rarick has also placed in the *Congressional Record* attacks published by Capell against Presidential foreign affairs advisor Henry Kissinger in which Capell charged that Kissinger was, like Secretary Rogers, soft on Communists and Communism.

One such Capell attack on the White House aide was inserted by Rarick on January 27, 1969, only a few weeks after President Nixon named Kissinger to his new post, and only three days after it had appeared as the January 24th issue of Capell's *Herald of Freedom*. The same Capell creed made the *Record* again on Rarick's initiative, being reprinted on July 21, 1971. In October 1971, Rarick spread on the *Congressional Record* a more recent attack on Kissinger published by Capell on Oct. 1.

In each of the Capell articles, Kissinger was described as the son of a rabbi; the 1969 article spoke of Kissinger's father as "reportedly a prominent rabbi and a Zionist in Berlin." (At about the same time in 1969, Americans for National Security—an arm of Carto's Liberty Lobby apparatus—was promoting a so-called "fact-sheet" concerning Kissinger which described the father as "a prominent rabbi and a Zionist in Berlin.")

(Henry Kissinger's father, Louis, now in his 80s, resides in New York City. He told the Anti-Defamation League on October 26, 1971, that he had never been a rabbi, that he had always been a school teacher, and that before coming to the United States in 1938 as a refugee from Hitler's terror, he had never been part of the Zionist movement, although he added that his "heart is for Israel.")

By the time Rarick got around to using Capell's material in the *Congressional Record*, Capell's credentials as a source of accurate information about such matters had been seriously damaged. He had authored, over the years, such sensationalist pamphlets of Far Right extremism as *Treason is the Reason*, *The Strange Case of Jacob Javits*, *The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe*, and, in 1968, *Robert F. Kennedy—Emerging American Dictator* (renamed *Robert F. Kennedy—A Political Biography* after the Senator was assassinated).

Capell had also run afoul of the law on two occasions. In 1944, while an investigator for the War Production Board, he was indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to obtain bribes, pleaded guilty to three counts, and in May 1945, was sentenced to pay a fine of \$2,000 on the first count and

to serve a year and a day in prison on each of the three counts.

In March 1965, Capell was indicted by a Los Angeles County grand jury of conspiring to commit criminal libel by circulating an affidavit which falsely charged that a U.S. Senator from California had been involved in a morals offense 15 years earlier. Capell wrote a letter of apology to the Senator as part of a *nolo contendere* plea to a lesser charge.

He has since published his booklets and his *Herald of Freedom* from a small town in New Jersey and has attracted a certain following on the Far Right political fringes; articles bearing his name have been appearing regularly in recent months in periodicals published by the John Birch Society, with whom Capell shares a belief in the "conspiracy theory" of history and of current events.

Rarick likewise shares a belief in the "conspiracy theory" of history with other ideologues and pamphleteers of the Radical Right—the theory which leads inevitably to suspicion, to witch-hunting, to smear—and often to bigotry. Rarick himself has insisted upon "the existence of an international conspiratorial plot—an invisible government." An example of the "plot" theory translated into specifics is seen in Rarick's contention that American troops serving with the NATO forces in Europe—he opposes their continued presence—are "hostages" to U.S. agreements and are too close to the Middle East to be removed by the powerful secret forces that he believes decide U.S. policy. The implication of "Zionist" influence is clear, especially when it is remembered that on other occasions Rarick has named the conspiratorial "international bankers" as the framers of U.S. Middle East policies. It is a fact of history on the Far Right that the step from "conspiracy" theorizing to anti-Semitism is a short one.

ASSAULTS ON THE CHURCHES

Rarick's views and recent harsh criticisms of the churches and their leadership are further reflections of the Radical Right perspective on contemporary society. He sees, for example, a "revolution of change and tolerance" in the Roman Catholic Church, and contends that recent activities of the Pope "offer tremendous propaganda potential to the Communist conspiracy."

Because they have allocated some donated dollars for a mailing to members of Congress urging support for welfare reforms, America's Catholic bishops, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America have been labeled by Rarick as "pious pickpockets."

In May, 1971, Rarick introduced a bill to strip religious organizations of their tax-exempt status if they use any funds whatsoever for "propaganda"—i.e., if they take public positions on social matters, which sometimes become political matters, and thereby attempt "to influence legislation." Rarick specifically charged the National Council of Churches with what he called "instances of the misuse of tax-free funds." Rarick cited the printing of pamphlets advocating equal rights for blacks as an example of past activity he would like to curb by law.

A spokesman for the House Ways and Means Committee has stated that the Rarick bill is of the sort that is designed not so much to be passed into law as to "hint at legislation that could be enacted unless certain groups change their activities."

By the nature of his charges and by the nature of his assault on democratic ideals and institutions, Rep. John Rarick places himself on the farther shores of American political thinking. His significance on the general scene, however, is that his position as a high elected official in the United States Government is one in which the carrying of the virus of bigotry becomes a matter of special concern. By employing congressional privilege and prestige as a vehicle for the wider distribution of extremist propaganda,

and even the canards of hate, Rarick has given new currency on Capitol Hill to many a discredited voice of unreason. In practice, as an examination of his speeches and his voluminous insertions in the *Congressional Record* reveals, Rarick has often used his high public position to attack the integrity and the rights of black Americans and to echo some of the worst effronteries of blatant anti-Semitism.

The most stunning aspect of his record of extremist demagoguery has been the general silence with which it has been met in responsible quarters. The question arises: Have the American people and their elected representatives become so preoccupied that they are unaware of the shrill voices of extremism and bigotry on the national scene? Or are they simply indifferent because they view such voices as unimportant?

INSURING THE NATION'S HEALTH

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 27, 1971, the Memphis Commercial Appeal carried as its lead editorial an analysis of the various proposals pending before the Congress to establish a program of national health insurance. Since the question of national health insurance will be one of the most important ones which the Congress has to deal with this year, I commend the following editorial to my colleagues.

INSURING THE NATION'S HEALTH

On the subject of a national program of health insurance, most authorities agree on one thing: Changes in the system of health care are necessary and inevitable. After that, disagreements take off like President Nixon on the trail of another summit.

The major controversy, epitomized in proposals by the administration and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), revolves around the extent to which the federal government should control health care and how much the system should be reorganized.

There is too much good in American medicine to revamp everything, and there is too little proof that wholesale changes will be an improvement to plunge into them without experimentation.

The most responsible concepts of change seem to be those presented by the administration and the American Medical Association, both of which seek to make high-quality care available to everyone at a minimum cost without usurping the prerogatives either of patients or physicians. The Kennedy proposal would cost the federal government an estimated 57 billion dollars and would make the government the manager of American medicine.

Because of the many plans for national health insurance and the intense lobbying by vested interests, none of the bills will have easy going. It's possible that no comprehensive plan will get out of the House Ways and Means Committee, with the members opting instead for a limited attack on a special problem, such as more and better care for the poor.

The committee's second-ranking majority member, Representative Al Ullman (D-Ore.),

said, "We want to get started, but we don't want to go in the wrong direction."

The basic problem in health care is that demand has outstripped supply. With the establishment of Medicare and Medicaid in the middle 1960's, many more Americans were able to purchase medical care. The government and the health industry agreed that high-quality care should be the right of every citizen, and not just the luxury of those who could afford it.

Care is not available to everyone at the same levels of convenience or quantity. Physicians and facilities are not distributed evenly among the population. While urban centers attract large numbers of health personnel, many rural counties have few if any.

Certain groups, such as the poor and the non-white, have high rates of disease and disability and low rates of medical treatment. They can't afford private physicians, who tend not to practice in their communities, anyway, and the centralized medical facilities are crowded and difficult to get to.

Medical insurance has become an increasingly unsatisfactory method of buying care. Overhead and risk factors have driven premiums up without expanding coverage appreciably or taking care of catastrophic illnesses, which can put a family in debt for life. Because insurance protection deals mainly with services delivered in hospitals, less expensive care outside hospitals is not sought as much as it should be.

The cost of medical treatment, in general, rose rapidly during the last decade. Pay raises for hospital employees and technological developments were among the major causes. These are the problems that a national health program must solve. Senator Kennedy would do it by eliminating the medical insurance industry, financing federal insurance through new taxes, and giving hospitals and nursing homes predetermined budgets. Health professionals would have an option of going on salary.

The administration argues forcefully that when the government pays all the bills, it has primary interest in holding down costs. This leads it into the business of approving budgets, setting fee schedules, monitoring for acceptable quality of service and other bureaucratic responsibilities that could amount to the nationalization of the medical system.

Both the administration and AMA proposals are presented as starting points from which careful, reliable steps can be taken. The President's bill would require employers to provide private insurance for their employees, and would set up federal insurance for the poor. The cost is estimated at up to three billion dollars for 1974. Additional legislation would address other problems, including the manpower shortage and the weaknesses in the system of delivering care.

The AMA plan would provide income tax credits for private insurance on an income-based scale. Low-income families would get federal subsidies to buy insurance or to join the patients of a group practice.

Neither plan would control insurance costs, specifically. But they envision changes in the health system that do so. The development of more decentralized health clinics and increasing practice of preventive medicine, for instance, would reduce the use of highly expensive facilities. If per-capita payments by insurance companies drop or hold steady, so will premiums.

The quality of American medicine is the finest in the world. To maintain and improve that quality, health professionals must be able to treat patients and seek innovations

with as much freedom as is practical from governmental red tape and regulation. Freedom should be limited only by the obligation to make health care available to everyone. But the limits should be carefully applied. The health system would suffer a crippling blow if it were turned into a likeness of the welfare system.

DR. CARLOS FINLAY OF HAVANA, AND YELLOW FEVER

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, mastery over one of the most deadly plagues of our human existence required many years of patient research and painful experimentation before the stegomyia mosquito was shown to be a carrier of yellow fever infection.

Dr. Carlos Finlay of Havana, Cuba, had long believed that the transmission of the disease was thus transmitted, but the actual fact was not established until the practical experiments of Walter Reed in Havana confirmed the theory involved.

In the Jefferson Medical College Alumni Bulletin of summer 1971, there is a splendid article on the subject of Dr. Finlay's contribution, entitled, "Carlos Finlay and the Carrier of Death." Dr. Finlay was a graduate of the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, Pa.

The article in question refers to the contributions of Reed, Gorgas, and others who participated in the successful work of dealing with yellow fever.

The Jefferson Medical College, in making publication of the article, in one of its bulletins is commendable and tends to widen the horizons involved. I believe the article is worthy of a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and under leave accorded I am thus placing it.

I am indebted to former Congressman Maurice H. Thatcher of Kentucky for furnishing me the indicated article. He served with General Gorgas of the Isthmian Canal Commission during the period of the Panama Canal construction.

The article follows:

CARLOS FINLAY AND THE CARRIER OF DEATH

(By Juan Angel Del Regato, M.D.)

Yellow fever, for centuries a dreaded scourge that decimated cities, disappeared from the annals of public health everywhere within months of the application of remarkably simple preventive measures advocated by a tireless physician, genial scientist and dedicated humanist, Carlos Finlay. The brilliant and dramatic verification of his experimental work with the mosquito by the U.S. Army Medical Board, and the acceptance and implementation of his culicid public health measures, freed the world from a dreaded menace, facilitated the development of easier intercourse among nations